1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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It would seem inevitable that not all such marriages can 581
be a success. Husband and wife are complete strangers up to the moment of marriage, and the early, indeed immediate, consummation of the sexual union precludes any possibility of the growth of mutual attraction and of the courtship which western psychology considers an indispensable preliminary to sexual intercourse. It may be, indeed it often happens, that Chinese or Min Chia marriages become a real union of affection as time passes, but this can only be after the marriage has been consummated and depends on chance rather than choice. It is not surprising therefore to find that both young men and girls really dread their marriage as a plunge into the unknown, and that among the younger, more educated generation, there is an increasing opposition to the old custom, inspired by the spreading knowledge that the modern generation of university educated young people in the great cities have largely broken away from these restraints.

In the case, not by any means rare, where a mutual anti- 586
pathy rather than attraction follows marriage, there is little remedy for either party in the traditional system. A wife can in theory leave a cruel or depraved husband and return to her father's home. Such action would cause the greatest possible scandal, and lead to bitter hostility between the two families, and it only natural to find that few fathers have sufficient appreciation of their daughter's unhappiness as to encourage them to abandon their husbands, especially as there is then little prospect of them being married a second time. A husband may divorce his wife for adultery, by simply sending her home, but this also rarely happens, as it is not often easy to prove the fact to the satisfaction of the wife's father, and it is held to reflect scandal on the family of a husband where such things happen, and are admitted to happen. If the husband finds his wife incompatible, but

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586 virtuous, he may divorce her, but in that case he must pay 200 to 300 silver dollars to her father, and very few families can afford such an expensive method of divorce. In such a case the husband would find it less expensive and easier to take a concubine in addition to his wife, who would remain the recognised, but neglected mistress of her husband's home.

595 Concubinage is still perfectly legal, though no longer approved by the younger generation of Chinese of the educated class. Among the Min Chia it has always been the luxury of the rich rather than a general custom. Only a few wealthy men can afford more than one wife, and it is almost unknown for any man to have two concubines. The most common reason for taking a concubine is the failure of the first wife to bear children, or the death of such children as she had borne when there is no longer any hope of her having any others. In such a case it is considered a natural thing for the husband to take a concubine, and indeed the older Min Chia would consider it his duty to do so. Concubines are usually the daughters of poorer families, who having more daughters than they can easily marry to families of their own status, are ready to send one daughter to a richer home in this capacity. There are cases where the concubine is of the same social standing as the first wife, but this is not so common, and is often due to a compromise solution when the husband has eloped with one girl and had to consent to marry the other, to whom he was already betrothed.

Although the concubine is thus usually of lower social status than the first wife, and her position in the home is inferior, her children count as equally legitimate with those of the first wife, and no discrimination is made between them. In peasant households concubinage is unknown, for economic reasons, and if the wife proves barren, it is

The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 852
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 693
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can- 586
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed-
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 428
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-mu = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]